

Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

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PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 DHA-02 SCCT-01 AID-05

OMB-01 /072 W

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O R 200709Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4295

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR ZA WA

SUBJ: SENATOR PERCY'S REPORT ON MEETING WITH SWAPO IN LUSAKA

SENATOR PERCY HAS ASKED FOLLOWING REPORT BE TRANSMITTED
TO WASHINGTON WITH COPIES BEING PROVIDED TO:

SECDEF

GENERAL SCOWCROFT

GEORGE BUSH

US PERM REP UN SCRANTON

NADINE JACOBSEN, SEN. PERCY'S OFFICE

PAT HOLT, SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

1. SENATOR PERCY MET WITH FOUR REPRESENTATIVES SOUTH WEST
AFRICA PEOPLES ORGANIZATION (SWAPO) HELD AT DCM WRAMP
MEIER'S HOME IN LUSAKA SUNDAY APRIL 18, 1976 FOR 1900 TO

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2020. PRESENT WERE MOSES GAROEB, ADM. SEC.; THEO-BEN

GURIRAB, CHIEF REF OBSERVER MISSION TO UN; HIDIPO NAMUTEN YA, DIR. POLITICAL AFFAIRS, INSTITUTE FOR NAMIBIA; HAGE-GOTTFRIED GEINGOB, INSTITUTE DIRECTOR; SENATOR AND MRS. PERCY; DR. PETER POOLE, FRC STAFF, AND DCM. MEETING CORDIAL THROUGHOUT AND OPENED ON FRIENDLY NOTE THAT ALL HAD ATTENDED USA UNIVERSITIES. GURIRAB SAID HE HAD FOLLOWED SENATOR'S CAREER CLOSELY AND POSITIONS ON ISSUES INCLUDING VITAL MIDDLE EAST POSITION AND WISHED HE COULD HAVE VOTED FOR HIM. GAROEB EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR SUNDAY MEETING SO THEY COULD EXPLAIN SWAPO OBJECTIVES AND GOALS. SENATOR PERCY EXPLAINED TO THE SWAPO REPS THAT WHILE CAMPAIGNING RECENTLY WITH PRESIDENT FORD IN ILLINOIS, PRESIDENT AND HE HAD EXTENSIVELY DISCUSSED US AFRICAN POLICY AND SEN. PERCY PROMISED TO REPORT TO PRESIDENT UPON HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON D.C., APRIL 26. IN THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR, AMERICA SHOULD REAFFIRM ITS BASIC REVOLUTIONARY FOUNDATIONS IN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MATTERS ON BEHALF OF OPPRESSED PEOPLES EVERYWHERE, AND PRESIDENT FORD HAD DONE JUST THIS IN MEETING WITH CHICAGO EDITORS LAST MONTH.

2. AT SEN. PERCY'S INVITATION, SWAPO ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY, MOSES GAROEB SUMMARIZED THE HISTORY OF THE ORGANIZATION AND ITS OBJECTIVES. HE RECALLED THAT IN THE EARLY DAYS PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN RULE WERE BRUTALLY SUPPRESSED. BY 1962 SWAPO HAD CONCLUDED THAT ONLY BY ARMED STRUGGLE COULD SOUTH AFRICAN RULE BE ENDED. AT THIS POINT SWAPO'S TACTICS CHANGED FROM NON-VIOLENT TO VIOLENT. EVEN NOW SWAPO IS IN THE PROCESS OF INCREASING AND EXPANDING THE ARMED STRUGGLE. IT HAS BASES IN ZAMBIA AND NOW IN ANGOLA. IT GETS HELP FROM OTHER FRIENDLY COUNTRIES INCLUDING, GAROEB STRESSED, THOSE "OF THE EAST". THE GOALS OF SWAPO ARE (A) THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA AS ONE INTEGRAL NATION; (B) INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT BANTUSTANIZATION; AND (C) A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT.

3. GAROEB SAID SWAPO IS CONVINCED, AND HOPES THE WORLD WILL SEE WHY, IT MUST FOLLOW THE ROAD OF ARMED STRUGGLE UNTIL ITS OBJECTIVES ARE ACHIEVED. SWAPO KNOWS MANY WILL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DIE, JUST AS MANY DIED IN AMERICAN REVOLUTION FOR ITS OWN FREEDOM FROM COLONIAL RULE. IT ALSO RESERVES THE RIGHT TO RECEIVE ASSISTANCE FROM ANY WHO WILL AGREE TO HELP THE NAMIBIAN CAUSE. GAROEB STRESSED THAT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA "THE US NEEDS A NEW POLICY". IF THE US WERE TO COME OUT WITH A NEW POLICY WHICH OFFERS ASSISTANCE TO SWAPO, THEN FINE.

4. GAROEB COMMENTED THAT THERE IS NO REASON WHY NAMIBIAN TRIBES SHOULD BE ANY LESS ABLE TO FORM AN INDEPENDENT STATE THAN THE 72 TRIBES OF ZAMBIA. THROUGH THE INSTITUTE FOR NAMIBIA THEY ARE PREPARING PEOPLE TO ASSUME POSITIONS IN AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT. MANY NAMIBIANS HAVE BEEN EDUCATED ABROAD, ESPECIALLY IN THE US.

5. SENATOR PERCY ASKED HOW MUCH COORDINATION EXISTS BETWEEN THE EXTERNAL AND THE INTERNAL WINGS OF SWAPO. GAROEB EXPLAINED THAT WITHIN NAMIBIA THE NAMIBIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL SERVES AS AN UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION FOR ALL THOSE PRO-INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS WHICH THINK LIKE SWAPO. THE NNC LEADERSHIP IS ESSENTIALLY SWAPO. MOST INTERNAL SWAPO LEADERS ARE PRESENTLY IN JAIL. INTERNAL SWAPO MEMBERS MUST BE CIRCUMSPECT. THEY OBVIOUSLY CANNOT WAGE ARMED STRUGGLE OR EVEN TALK ABOUT IT WITHOUT FEAR OF ARREST. WHAT THEY SAY IN WINDHOEK WILL THEREFORE BE MORE CAUTIOUSLY PHRASED THAN WHAT SWAPO OFFICIALS IN LUSAKA MIGHT SAY.

6. SEN. PERCY ASKED IF THIS CAUTION AND CARE WAS MERELY A REFLECTION OF THEIR FEAR OF PUNITIVE MEASURES OR IF, IN GAROEB'S JUDGMENT, THE INTERNAL SWAPO IS MORE TIMID, LESS MILITANT THAN THE EXTERNAL WING. GAROEB ASSERTED THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF CONDESCENSION BUT THAT CAUTION ON THEIR PART IS ESSENTIAL. PERCY INDICATED HIS CONTACTS REASONABLY GOOD IN NAMIBIA BUT HE WOULD LIKE NAMES OF SWAPO REPRESENTATIVES HE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO SEE WITHOUT COMPROMISING THEIR POSITION.

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7. SENATOR PERCY INDICATED CONCERN ABOUT THE RECENT VORSTER - RABIN MEETING IN JERUSALEM AND INDICATED BOTH PRESIDENTS NYERERE AND KAUNDA HAD RAISED ISSUE. HE NOTED IT HAD BEEN ANNOUNCED FIRST BY VOA AND ONLY THEN DID KOL ISRAEL CONFIRM IT. GURIRAB SAID THAT HIS FIRST REACTION, UPON HEARING THE NEWS, WAS TO RECALL THAT VORSTER DURING WORLD WAR II HAD BEEN INTERNED BY THE SMUTS GOVERNMENT FOR HIS PRO-NAZI SYMPATHIES. HE THOUGHT THE VISIT RELEVANT IN TERMS OF SOUTH AFRICA SEEKING TO LEARN FROM ISRAEL HOW TO SURVIVE WHEN SURROUNDED BY HOSTILE STATES, ESPECIALLY TECHNIQUES DEVELOPED TO PROTECT AGAINST PLO TERRORIST ATTACKS. MENTION WAS MADE OF ISRAELI POSSESSION OF ATOMIC WEAPONS, SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBABLE ROLE AND SOUTH AFRICA'S PRESENT NEED FOR WEAPONS BECAUSE OF WORLD EMBARGO. HYPOTHESIZED ALSO THAT ISRAEL A BOMBS COULD BE TESTED BY SOUTH AFRICA
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WITHOUT DETECTION.

8. CODEL REQUESTED AND WAS GIVEN NAMES OF SUGGESTED SWAPO CONTACTS IN NAMIBIA: REV. Z. KAMEETA (PRES. NNC); DANIEL TJONGARERO (SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC INFO, NNC AND SWAPO OFFICIAL); MRS. MARTHA FORD (SWAPO); MR. NATHANIEL MADUILILI, (ACTING PRESIDENT OF SWAPO, UNDER BAN). THE LATTER, ACCORDING TO SWAPO REPS, IS SUBJECT TO VERY TIGHT TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS AND POLICE HARRASSMENT.

9. SWAPO REPS DESCRIBED EFFECT OF UN RES. 385 ON NAMIBIA, INDICATING THAT THEY WOULD MUCH PREFER THIS NONVIOLENT DEMOCRATIC ROUTE TO INDEPENDENCE AND HOPEFUL THAT COORDINATED DIPLOMATIC PRESSURES ON SAG BY ALL INTERESTED NATIONS WILL BEAR FRUIT BY AUGUST 1976 DEADLINE. SENATOR SAID HE PLANNED TO PLACE THIS SUBJECT AT TOP OF HIS AGENDA IN VORSTER MEETING.

10. PER AMBASSADOR WILKOWSKY'S REQUEST, SENATOR RAISED

SUBJECT OF KISSINGER VISIT AND STRONGLY URGED SWAPO IN THEIR OWN INTEREST TO MEET WITH HIM IN LUSAKA. SWAPO REPS INDICATED THEY MUST HAVE OFFICIAL REQUEST FROM AMBASSADOR AND DECISION MUST BE MADE BY THEIR PRESIDENT. AT SENATOR'S URGING THEY AGREED TO GIVE PROMPT RESPONSE WHEN REQUEST MADE, AND IF MEETING NOT POSSIBLE NEITHER SIDE WOULD PUBLICIZE THE FACT.

11. SWAPO REPS SAID THEY HAVE DEVELOPED GOOD RAPPORT WITH HMG AND HOPE TO DO SAME WITH USG. WHEN ASKED BY MRS. PERCY STATUS THEIR RELATIONS WITH FRG, THEY SAID THEY HAVE SOME VERY BASIC DIFFERENCES WITH FRG, WHICH HAS NOT BEEN AS FORTHCOMING AS SWAPO HAD HOPED.

12. SENATOR EXPRESSED AIM OF ELEVATING CONCERN FOR NAMIBIA IN US POLICY. SWAPO REPS CLEARLY APPRECIATIVE AND ASKED IF THIS REFLECTED ANY WIDESPREAD US PUBLIC INTEREST IN ANMIBIA. SENATOR REPLIED THAT US PUBLIC INTEREST NOT YET BROAD BUT GROWING. SENATOR SAID HE WOULD PURSUE OBJECTIVE OF A COMMON US LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE APPROACH TO SOUTHERN AFRICA SIMILAR TO COMMON APPROACH ON MIDDLE EAST POLICY. SAID QUOTE IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TERMS OF OLD AMERICAN ADAGE, WE MUST WALK IN YOUR MOCCASINS UNQUOTE TO LEARN YOUR VIEWPOINT AND ASPIRATIONS.

13. SWAPO EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR MEETING AND SAID THEY HOPED THEY HAD EMOSTRATED SWAPO IS A LIBERATION MOVEMENT DEDICATED TO BASIC HUMAN VALUES AND NOT COMPOSED OF MINDLESS TERRORISTS. THEY CAME TO MEETING QUOTE WITH BEARDS BUT NO GUNS UNQUOTE. CODEL VERY IMPRESSED BY INTELLIGENCE, RATIONALITY AND OVERALL QUALITY OF GROUP. ALL PRESENT AGREED THAT US AID TO NAMIBIA INSTITUTE FOR FELLOWSHIPS AND SCHOLARSHIPS, AS PROPOSED TO CONGRESS BY FORD ADMINISTRATION, HIGHLY DESIRABLE, BUT NONE PRESENT AWARE PRESENT STATUS OF CONFRESSIONAL APPROPRIATION. SWAPO REPS SAID IT VERY HARD FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENT TO CHANGE ITS FRIENDS AFTER COUNTRY ACHIEVES INDEPENDENCE. HENCE, THEY HOPED US FRIENDSHIP WITH SWAPO COULD BE SOLIFIED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. CODEL AGREED AND REPEATED THAT SECSTATE VISIT OFFERED THE BEST OPPORTUNITY TO SWAPO TO MOVE IN THAT DIRECTION.
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